

[P21a]

Balsa Construction

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The balsa, made of triangular tule, was called tule boat (pumuk o'wan). It was made in three sections, a long central bundle and two smaller, fatter, lateral ones which formed slightly raised sides. Tules cut for the purpose were laid out on the ground or on ramada tops to dry.

[51]

An average-sized balsa held comfortably six people and their traveling possessions. Everyone sat cross-legged. When there was more than one passenger a man poled at each end, the two men poling on opposite sides. The pole, of willow, was called owo'win ai'yal according to the Chunut, J.A., but sa'hat according to the Tachi, M.G. Paddles of wood were not used. Women never poled unless necessary. The making of balsas and poling were men's work, as was the gathering of tule roots. The Tachi informant said children would have crude little balsas of their own or would sit astride a large bunch of bundles tules when playing in the water.

[52]

Painting

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Painting was a favorite form of ceremonial ornamentation with people of the valley and lake region. The general word for paint was otsai'amin. The colors were black (ka'lyan) made from charcoal, red (hoi'iyu) obtained in trade from the mountains, and white (ho'sot) made from burned shell (but at another time said to be white clay). All these were pulverized in little mortars and mixed with grease for application. Several patterns were developed as symbolic of the wearer's totem animal (fig. 4). The pictures call for certain comment. Coyote (kai'yu) had black about the mouth. Crow (ka'nkas) had black dots over the entire face. Sandhill Crane (u'lats) had white covering the entire right side of the face. Eagle (to'hel) had two short black lines extending diagonally outward from the eyes and, about the lower neck and shoulder plane, a band of solid white which represented the bald eagle's white neck and at the same time was thought of as Eagle's sacred talismans of eagle-down rope. "Chicken Hawk" (su'hup) had long black lines representing tears from the inner corners of the eye to the sides of the mouth: "he cried all the time because he was lonesome." Cooper's Hawk (poi'yon) had similar black "tears" and two vertical white lines on the chin. Antelope (soi'yo) had two black lines radiating widely from the eyes. Prairie Falcon (li'mak) had three parallel oblique stripes on each cheek, white, black, white, and tied his hair up in a special kind of "screw" on the top of the head. J.A. knew of no Bear pattern.

● [386]

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White stripes and spots were made on the body just as one wished. J.A. said a person

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[P. 69 a]

292 and shells added to the effect.¹⁶⁴ Such dress was not exclusively a shaman's but might be owned by any person who had need of it, for instance, a singer. Men borrowed shirts and hats when participating in dances or ceremonies.

[426]

292 The feather skirt was called čo 'ñiś (M. and M.P.), like the woman's fibre apron.¹⁶⁵
237 This was composed of strands of string into which owl down had been twisted. Each strand was tipped with a flicker (šipoi "its) feather. The skirt had a belt of its own from which the strands were suspended, but over this was worn another belt with beads woven into it (koikoi).

The headdress had two parts. The central part (ču) was an upright bunch of magpie tail feathers, surrounded at its base with white owl feathers; and, next, a thickset buttress of short black crow wing feathers. The second part (se'ma) was a fat fluffy crown of black or white owl breast feathers. The one pictured was of pure white and brushed lightly with red paint.¹⁶⁶

293 In the ear lobes were worn falcon quills (po') surrounded with quail crests.

237 Necklaces (walač) of small disc beads, the long humana beads, and abalone pendants were worn.

A bandoleer of koikoi carried eagle-feather pendants. Such little bunches of feathers, eagle or flicker, would hang from the neck or down the back, or swing from the wrists and upper arms of a doctor in full dress. A bandoleer of flicker quills was a rare prized ornament.

Around each wrist were weasel-skin bands (sau'nat). These carried special supernatural power. Weasel-skin bands or bunches of feathers were often fastened below each knee. There were no ankle ornaments, and the feet were unshod.

Ornament

386 Paint.---Three colors of paint were used by
302 the Wukchumni and Gawia, as among other Yokuts. The red paint (ho'y'n, J.B., M.L.; red color, pač'i'kan, J.B.) was an earth obtained at Wa'wun between Badger and Aukland. It turned red when burned (possibly yellow ochre or cinabar). Red paint was not newly introduced at the Ghost Dance (as claimed by Powers) (J.B.). Black paint (kadi'an) was a grey earth which turned black when burned. It was used as a salve for sore eyes and rectum. White paint

[177]

[757]

¹⁶⁴The following description and reconstruction in fig. 8, d, are based on a photograph of M.P.'s uncle which I was not permitted to have copied. M.P. described each item of the costume as she recalled it.

¹⁶⁵Kroeber gives chochun; see Handbook, 508, pl. 42.

¹⁶⁶See also, *ibid.*, 508, fig. 44; and Holmes, pl. 35, wherein is shown a shaman's head net, feather headpieces, ear ornaments, hairpin, and shell-trimmed bandoleer.

[P.696]

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(hoso 'sa, J.B.; hošo 'hat, M.L.; white color, 'sau 'ded, J.B.) was made of pulverized shells. All paints were mixed with grease for application.

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Differences in the use of paint by men and women lay only in the method of application.

The same patterns were used by both, but the solid line of pigment used by men was broken up into a line of dots by women. Red paint was smeared lightly over the face when a woman was going to end the meat tabu after pregnancy or bereavement. Any woman taking part in a dance might put on red paint this way and then add a horizontal row of white dots on each cheek.

[322]

Both sexes used red and white paint, but black paint was associated with doctoring. Men with Crow totem used it, as did Bear and Coyote totemites on occasion. A doctor, when attired for a pleasure dance or display, covered his face with black paint and his body with short white diagonal stripes. Wukchumni patterns are shown in figure 4.

[741]

Paint was not used as insignia by chiefs, messengers, singers, or, in fact, by anyone. It was assumed only for dance, ritual, or gala occasion (J.B., M.L.).

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Tattooing.---Many women used tattooing as a permanent form of personal decoration. It was done of their own volition, usually in young womanhood but before marriage. The only motivation, other than vanity, was the belief that it prevented one from getting old and wrinkled. (M.P.). Young girls who were close friends often had themselves tattooed at the same time. Only one form of tattooing had religious significance; this was a small pattern placed on the inside of the right forearm just above the wrist. Only a few examples of this type were observed, on two Yokuts women and two Western Mono men. This spot is said to

[827]

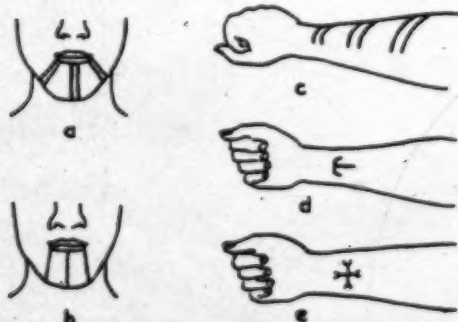


Fig. 9. Women's tattoo marks. a, c, Wukchumni (M.L.). b, d, Telamni (T.W.). e, Wukchumni (M.P.).

[P. 1476] Choinimni

OCCASION

482 ally a basket cap was worn under the tumpine
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done
when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.¹¹

534 Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute
(u'tač) had four holes. Not many men could
play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about
it to become really adept. Two Choinimni ex-
perts at Kulušao were Kudu'ma and La'hai'yi.
[237] Samson Dick (Ya'ki) is the only person living
now who can play well.¹² The hawk shinbone
whistle (pu'sač) was held in the mouth while
the musician executed dance steps. This kind
of whistling is called wušinuha'o, the term
applied to ordinary (European) whistling with
pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta'wal)
was used for most ceremonial accompaniments,
the cocoon rattle (sa'nač) being reserved ex-
clusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and
for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by
Mayfield.

202 A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by
Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only
for signaling.¹³

533 The singers who accompanied dancing were
called ale'k'č; the act of singing, or songs,
e'lknaš.

302 Paint.---White paint (ho'sot) was a clay
386 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
[431] the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
Red paint (hu'iyu) was got in trade from the
Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa'wen) was of un-
known source. All these paints were lumpy; in
preparation they were ground or rubbed down on
a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with
the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no
distinctive totemic paint patterns. White
paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's
arms and body when he was dancing.

276 Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was
called a 'tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical
Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about
5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and
1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for
the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and
held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or
two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A
pipe of clay was called se'kmai; these were not
common.¹⁴ The other common form, comparable to
the wood pipe, was called si'kil (cane) from
the cane which was obtained for this and for
arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up
in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was
3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

¹¹Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] ¹²This man, who was at odds with most of his neighbors
at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an
informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness,
although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

¹³Letta, op. cit., 25.

¹⁴Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes
of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

CP. 161 *Kechayi*

342 Poles (lo'kot) of any pliable wood were set within the edge of the depression, and were held in position by horizontal bands of willow withes (ka'pai). There would be three or four of these bands, each one smaller than the preceding, constricting the frame poles in a globular (not conical) form. The last ring (awa'nač), about 20 inches in diameter, had the tips of the side poles tied to it; the poles did not extend through it. The nearly upright sides of the dwelling were lined on the inside with vertical strips of cedar or pine bark (šolo'pi'). Thatching was of "any kind of long weeds" [sic] (ko'osn:l).⁵¹ This E.M. thought was not twined, but was inserted in bunches under the horizontal withes lashed down over it. Mats were not used.

The doorway (palu'an) was covered with a twined mat of "weeds" stiffened by lashing on a frame. On each side of the door were two extra poles, parallel with those of the door frame, behind which the mat door was slipped to keep it from tipping over.

[354]

The fire was in the center.

An earth-covered house was known but evidently little used by the Kechayi: "plains people used them more." The frame was hemispherical, like that of the thatched house, and the structure had an excavated floor. After the "weeds" were tied on "dirt was thrown all over it." The entrance was in the side (not through the smoke hole) and had a separate mat-covered door. In short, it seems to have been the usual Kechayi house with a covering of earth, and similar to that of the Choinimni. Like all Kechayi houses this was a one-family dwelling.

Houses of the Northern Foothill district never had more than one room. During the day a position on either side of the door was considered desirable, "because there was no smoke there." But at night a guest always had the place at the center back, the warmest and safest. In summer, fires were outdoors.

[574]

Husband and wife joined in the construction of their house, the man looking after the framework, the woman after the thatch. Men tied on the upper layers of thatch, as climbing was not seemly for women. There was a sense of joint ownership and, upon divorce, the offending party was expected to abandon the dwelling.

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[542]

[586]

Houses of a village were set out in a row if the site permitted; if it did not, any arrangement was permissible. Regardless of his moiety, a chief's house was always placed at the west end. No other house had a special location.

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Dance house.--The Miwok "round house" was known to the people on the San Joaquin River, but it was not imitated. No dances or cere-

⁵¹There was undoubtedly some preferred material, as suggested by the name E.M. offered, but she couldn't or wouldn't identify it.

[P. 162 a] Kechmyi

621 Star lore---Terms used for stars, phases
192 of sun and moon, etc., follow:
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u'pāš: sun
toiyu nam u'pāš: moon (lit., night sun)
tawa nāš: morning star
tomo'lo'o'lohi: evening star
čaya'taš: star (general)
muxe ma: Pleiades (lit., young girls).

E.M. disclaimed all knowledge of the tale of the girls' flight from their husbands.⁵² When this constellation was on the eastern horizon at dawn, the river was deep, but when it was on the western horizon at dusk, it was time to go to the river for the spring salmon run.⁵³

soiyo'lui yawačit: Milky Way (lit., antelope-place running). Antelope and deer ran a race across the sky from northeast to southwest. Deer won.

wate'lau: a shooting star. Doctors knew something about these, but "plain people wouldn't know."

we č'n čano'onit: eclipse of sun or moon (lit., Condor eating). The Condor was thought to be eating the luminary; he hid it with his wings. At this time everyone went out and shouted. This shouting was led by the Nutuwich people: "the Nutuwich could holler best, the Tokelyuwich couldn't holler very good." Coyote was not involved in eclipses. When an eclipse of the sun occurred, a horse was killed, in addition to the shouting. The meat was eaten, the carcass being left to attract Condor away from the sun.

805 Calendar---The year was divided into moon months (yet u'pāš, a month, lit., one moon). These had special names which E.M. forgets. It contained five weeks, that is, four weeks of six days each, and the dark of the moon (gatai šī) counted as six days. The week (šu man, Sp. semana?) is now said to have seven days (nu mč'n, seven); the old week was called šu'lupai (šo'l'ipi, six).

823 Earthquake---E.M. had never heard of an earthquake in this region. (This is curious since she had such a clear memory of the Ghost Dance in 1872, the year of a violent earthquake in the San Joaquin Valley.)

805 Snake-charm---In the spring men and women wore abalone-shell gorgets, the glittering of which was thought to make rattlesnakes give a warning rattle (snake-charm, čune'ki).

301 Paint---The colors and sources were as follows:

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192 ho'suč: white. A clay which "the doctors got some place." They would give it to anybody

[831] ⁵²One suspects reticence: the story is regarded as somewhat obscene, at least to tell to a stranger.

⁵³This is approximately the same time; May 1 the Pleiades are on the eastern horizon at 6 a.m., western horizon at 6 p.m. Allowing for actual circumstances (the wall of the Sierra Nevada, what constitutes "dusk," etc.) there may have been a two-week interlude between the "time of high water" and the "time for spring salmon."

[P. 162 b] Kechayi:

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who "wanted to fix up for dances." It was associated with the Tokelyuwich moiety.
 hu'iyu: red. This doctors bought from the Western Mono; the Eastern Mono were the ultimate source. It was the Nutuwich color.
 ša'lu: black. Charcoal.
 wa wun: green (called blue by a Wobonuch informant). It is said to have been introduced by the Paiute who brought the Ghost Dance.

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Face patterns E.M. could not describe beyond this statement: that the Tokelyuwich covered the face with white and added two vertical stripes of green [black in earlier times?], and that the Nutuwich merely used red horizontal stripes.³⁴ She added that the Tokelyuwich sometimes put white horizontal streaks across their upper arms (but see sweat house dance). Shamans were the usual owners and traders of paint.

436

Money.--Values for clamshell disc beads were: once around the hand without crossing the wrist, 25 cents; five times around the hand, \$5.00. This is incongruous, of course (see fig. 14, c, Pt. I).

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Numeral system.--The usual Yokuts numerical system, based on 10, was used by Kechayi, Gashowu, and Dumna. E.M. gave the following Kechayi count:

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1. yet | 14. ha'č'am |
| 2. po noi | 15. y'č'am |
| 3. so p'in | 16. č'o'lipop |
| 4. hatpa nai | 17. no mčom |
| 5. y'č'o' n'1 | 18. mu nčum |
| 6. č'o'lipi | 19. no mčom |
| 7. nu mč'in | 20. ponoi t'e'yiu |
| 8. mo noš | 21. ponoi t'e'yao yet |
| 9. no n'p | 22. ponoi t'e'yao ponoi |
| 10. t'e'yao | 23. ponoi t'e'yao so p'in, |
| 11. y'e č'am | etc. |
| 12. bo č'etop | 100. yet pi'ča |
| 13. so pi'op | 1000. yet mi'la (Sp.) |

GAMES

526

[616]

Shinny.--This game (ko'n'č). was played by both sexes. The sticks and ball were of "some hard wood." Usually there were three people on each side; moiety opposition functioned when the game was played at mourning ceremonies. The Kechayi played the game around the turning post, which was not struck or aimed at.

Tossed hoop and pole.--E.M. had not seen this game (ha'lao) played; she had "just heard the old people talk about it."

[637]

Football.--For this game (i'wač) two posts were set up about one hundred feet apart. A ball of deerskin stuffed with grass was kicked and scuffed along the ground between two opponents. They pushed each other vigorously to maintain possession of the ball. They started from one post, went in a circuit around the

³⁴cf. Gifford, Miwok Moieties, 146.

101 MDB&M) was called *Ho-sho'-shud*. Northeast of present Mer-
 131 riman (NE ¼ Section 7, T18S, R27E, MDB&M) was a Yokodo
 103 village named *Sheudu* (She-oo'-doo). The Wukchumne village
 619 on the sand flats across the river to the north was called
 361 *Unow* (Oo'-now).

361 The old Yokodo main village was known by the name of
 the tribe. It was located on the south bank of the Kaweah
 River directly north of Exeter where the Exeter golf course
 was later established (SW ¼ Section 22, T18S, R26E, MDB&M).

The bare ridge sloping to the north from the highest por-
 tion of Rocky Hill, in Yokodo Territory (center of Section 6,
 T18S, R27E, MDB&M), was known as *Hawshaw Shido*, mean-
 ing Paint Place. The Yokodo mined there a white earth that
 they traded among the surrounding Yokuts tribes who used it
 for making white paint.

361 The Lime Kiln being the upstream limits of both Yokodo
 and Kaweah, as well as the downstream limits of the Wuk-
 chumne, the site was occupied by all three tribes. On the
 Kaweah River about three miles above Lemon Cove was a
 Wukchumne village known as *Gotow*. Slick Rock, on the
 Kaweah River above Lemon Cove, was called *Pahdin*, mean-
 ing Place to Go Under. The water hole beside it was named
 361 *Ahdit Wisha*. It was thought that an evil spirit dwelt under
 823 *Pahdin* and pulled swimmers into the water hole and drowned
 them. *Pahdin* was the extreme upstream limits of the Wuk-
 chumne.

Tawpongaw was the name of the rocky hill about a half-
 mile east of Lemon Cove (SE ¼ Section 2, T17S, R27E,
 MDB&M). The name means Buckeye Place, as the hill was
 once well covered with buckeye trees. There was a spring and
 an old Wukchumne village there of the same name.

About one-fourth mile up the Kaweah River from the
 bridge on the highway between Lemon Cove and Woodlake
 (SE ¼ of Section 34, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) is a rock called
Mawyucau, Whirlwind Place. It lies close to the west side of
 the Dry Creek Road where it runs close to the west bank of
 Limakila Creek. About one mile north of *Mawyucau* (west
 portion of Section 26, T17S, R27E, MDB&M) the Dry Creek
 Road enters a little valley which the Wukchumne called
Shuckeyu, meaning Elk Valley.

The junction of Dry Creek and Kaweah River was called
Chowpaw. *Tiupinish* was the name of Wukchumne Hill which

123 been made into a mass of partially decomposed granite, with
 438 an overburden of about ten feet of soil. Soon Ada grunted
 484 again, and the whole expedition gathered around her. With a
 sharpened stick, which she used to dig basketry roots, she was
 digging into the soft granite and removing chunks of a heavy
 [317] blue-black material which she called *Kodeen* (Ko'-de-en). This,
 135 I have since been informed, is a form of crude graphite, which
 was deposited in crevices in the top of the granite.

- 386 While the rest dug, Ichow explained to me how the old-time Yokuts used to prepare paint from this material and how they used to paint with it after it was prepared. A fire of dry oak wood was burned down to a heap of red coals. Then the graphite was dumped into a hole in the center and covered with hot coals from the rim of the fire bed. This was left until the entire bed of coals was reduced to ashes. After the whole mass had cooled, the burned graphite was carefully removed and placed in a bag of tanned deer-skin. Ichow later burned some of the material we gathered that day, but he did not follow exactly his own directions.

When the wood had burned to a mass of red-hot coals, Ichow placed the graphite in a portion of the bottom of a broken cast-iron kettle and sank it in the coals where it soon became red-hot. Within a couple of hours he removed the container and set it aside to cool. When I examined the material I found that it had changed character and color. Instead of being composed of several lumps of hard, heavy, blue-black material, almost exactly like the Rising Sun Stove Polish in use when I was a boy, it had slacked into a fine, sooty, black powder, in appearance like commercial lamp-black, but heavier.

- [302] In this manner was gathered and prepared the black paint for which the ceremonies of the Yokuts tribes were famous. Officials who danced in these ceremonies painted their bodies black. In some tribes white stripes were painted across the chest and abdomen, vertical white stripes on the legs and arms, and large white spots on the face.

- [439] White for this painting was prepared from diatomaceous earth, some of which was traded from Yokuts who lived in the Coast Range of mountains. One deposit of this crude chalk lies [387] near Lompoc and another near Crow Creek in Western Stanislaus County. It provided a pure white pigment.

- [324] Both of the above pigments were mixed with plant juices to form a paint. One of my authorities, *Pahmit*, a *Dumpa*

Yokuts from Friant, informed me that his people used only 386
oil from the seeds of the chilocothe, or wild cucumber. The
other, Ichow, stated that the Wukchumnes mixed this oil with 324
sap from the tall, blue-grey milkweed from which they gathered
fiber for manufacturing string. This same sap was also made 261
into chewing gum. In my own experience I have found such
gum to be exceptionally durable, and anything but palatable.

Crowned with the standard Yokuts *Juk* (Jook), or dance 769
headdress, the dancers were certainly spectacular performers 302
when they surrounded the glowing fire during the annual dance
for the dead. It is not surprising that pioneer whites who saw
this dance likened the performers to dancing skeletons.

After about ten pounds of graphite had been gathered, Ada 123
grunted again and the entire party began searching the soil 438
above the decomposed granite. Then came another grunt and
again we all gathered about her. She dug from the soil a round 484
hard nodule of light-colored clay. In about two hours three of
these nodules were excavated and, together with the graphite, 317
were loaded into the car among the thirteen pairs of feet. 323

Where the grocery store had once stood at the old ghost
village of Aukland we unloaded again and ate our picnic lunch
in the shade of an oak tree. Ada murmured a few soft Yokuts
words and Ichow explained for her that the old buildings just
below us were once the home of Perry Byrd, father of Mollie
Byrd who became the wife of the famous outlaw and train
bandit, Chris Evans. When the Ichows first saw Chris he
was working for Tulare County. He came along with a road
grader and interrupted their work when they were gathering
black paint material.

As we ate our lunch, Ichow explained to me that for many
generations his people had visited the place, which they called 103
Hutudu (Hoo'-too-doo), Hoot-Owl Place, to gather the material
for black paint and the clay for making pottery. Although the
deposits were in the range of the Wuksatche tribe, "They were
our good friends and they let us come and dig whenever we
wanted to. We had a big picnic when we came and traded basket
roots, just like we do today," said Ichow.

Our work and lunch had delayed us until it was almost two
o'clock in the afternoon; so I told the Indians we would have to
hurry, as I had a dinner engagement in Tulare. In less than a
minute all were packed in the car and we were on the road to

The material used in stitching to produce the red portion of the designs is prepared from redbud (*Cercis Occidentalis*). This is the beautiful shrub of the Sierra which is covered with magenta colored blossoms during the months of March and April. The outer wood is stripped from the slender shoots of redbud. These strips are a permanent red on the outside. Their color greatly resembles manzanita bark. The Yokuts name for this material is *ah'-nup*. 285
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Some basketry designs make use of black stitching material. This is the root of the bracken fern (*Pteridium Aquilinum*) and is the only basketry material which is artificially colored by the Yokuts. It was necessary for the valley Yokuts tribes to secure this root by trade. The root of the fern was stripped into thin pieces. Some reports state that the pieces were then buried in the dark mud of a spring for several weeks. In discussing the coloring of the fern roots with the Wukchumne I found that they used a different method. They boiled the root in a quantity of black mud from the sloughs, or tule swamps. This produced a dead black, which is quite permanent. [386] ●

I have collected pieces of ancient burial baskets which had been exposed to light for at least seventy years, to find the red and black of the designs almost as bright as those of recent work. The Yokuts call the black stitching material *muh-no'-kits*.

The awl used in stitching was made from the shin bone of a deer. One bone was split and two awls made from it. When completed they were from seven to nine inches long. From time to time the tip of the awl was broken. A new point was formed by whetting the bone on a piece of sandstone. When the length of the awl was reduced to about three inches it was discarded. The Yokuts call this awl *bah'-oak*. 285
412
[237]

YOKUTS WICKER AND TWINED BASKETS

In addition to the *ahketse* (ah-keet'-se), or baby cradle, the Yokuts tribes made several receptacles of wicker construction. The material used was either young black willow or cottonwood shoots. The Wukchumne say that young cottonwood shoots are better than willow, that they do not become so brittle with age. 285
[824]

The most common wicker-work utensil is a sort of colander, or sieve. This is used in sifting the chaff of the dried salt grass after it has been flailed, and in separating trash and 285
415

517 basketry. Although this topic has been introduced in the pre-
531 ceding chapter, an entire volume would not exhaust it. It is necessary to consider it further here. The designs are always simple in nature, often symbolic and never unpleasing to the eye. There is nothing in connection with Indian basketry designs which conflicts with the well observed rules which underlie the white man's design. The striking effect of some of the most simple primitive designs is amazing—sometimes perfectly fascinating.

463 At the present time there are a few Yokuts basketry artists
285 still at work. Their work resembles more the old unspoiled primitive forms than that of almost any other Indians, because the Spanish did not often penetrate to the eastern portion of the San Joaquin Valley, and the old mode of life was last overthrown there. There is now only one unspoiled Yokuts basket maker on the Kaweah River. There is also one on the San Joaquin River, as well as one or two on Kings River.

517 The old Yokuts seldom attempted anything but symbolic
531 or conventional forms. Figures attempting to show birds, animals or persons in their true shape, were seldom used. This was remarkably good taste and shows a deep understanding of true art on the part of the basket makers, for they were working in a cross stitch type of reproduction and could not smoothly develop the form of a deer or a bird.

Some of the most common designs used on basketry represented the various snakes common to the San Joaquin Valley. These designs lent themselves very nicely to a coiled construction and their patterns proved well adapted to the materials used.

386 The Indian painted his spear, his bow and his arrows. The colors used were blues, reds, yellows, blacks and whites, juices of berries and other plants being used. The designs were generally geometric. The marking on the arrows served a very practical, as well as artistic purpose. It was of importance to the hunter to be able to identify his own arrows. This was not only in connection with the proving of ownership of an arrow which had been shot into the brush, but also to prove who had killed certain game. Various colored lines were banded around the shaft and foreshaft of the arrow in the same way that modern archers mark their arrows.

302 Another form of art, probably as well developed as any
531 other, had to do with the painting of the faces and bodies of the

531 ed to be able to read these paintings and have given lengthy
517 and elaborate interpretations of the many characters which
have been reproduced in the various designs.

I have often discussed Indian paintings with pioneer American settlers, with persons who claimed to have solved their meanings, and with the Indians themselves. I have found little justification for the great amount of importance attached to them and will attempt in the paragraphs that follow to explain something of the nature of the various paintings, as well as the probable extent of their meaning.

First of all we must remember that painting was not confined to rocks alone, but that breech clouts, bows, arrows, buckskins, and even the faces and bodies of the Indians themselves, were painted. If this is kept in mind, the reader will understand that the paintings upon the rocks were no great phenomena, nor were they really unique as the only example of such work done by Yokuts.

[824 The writer is informed by persons who have seen Indians
• 386 mix their paints, that the vehicle or binder used was often the
sap from the common milkweed, mixed with chilicote or wild
cucumber oil. With such a vehicle were mixed the various earth
colors which were more or less common throughout the territory
bordering the San Joaquin Valley.

531 White persons are too often guilty of overlooking things
317 which are obvious to the Indian, or to the close observer. While
386 driving through the Sierra foothills with a companion for the
purpose of visiting some Indian paintings, I was asked where
the Indians obtained their red paint. The explanation was
made that the Indians used the natural earth colors, which were
more or less common in the very locality through which we were
then traveling. The companion stated that he could scarcely believe
this, because he had never seen any of that color within a
range of more than 150 miles. At this point the car was stopped
and the discussion continued. After a few moments the
cut bank at the side of the road was pointed out and proved to
be an outcropping of the richest red earth.

The white color used was, in some cases at least, obtained from diatomaceous earth. The writer has found in Indian graves chunks of this soft chalk in the natural state as well as molded balls of white pigment prepared from the same material.

The yellow pigment sometimes found is a yellow ochre obtained at many places throughout the volcanic regions of the Sierra, both in the northern section and on the desert side in eastern Kern County. In addition to the red pigment already mentioned, there were outcroppings of cinnabar at several places along the summit of the Coast Range, from as far south as the Poso Chaná near Coalinga, to Del Puerto Creek opposite Crow's Landing. This is the ore from which quicksilver is refined. It possesses a bright color, varying from maroon to the light red of common brick. 531 317 386

Black pigment was obtained from charcoal or from natural deposits of graphite. I have in my possession a small Indian mortar, the inside of which even yet is covered with black pigment. All of the colors mentioned are permanent. The white and black could probably never be faded, even by direct exposure to the sunlight through thousands of years of time. This is also probably true of the red pigment. In the old paintings the yellow appears as fresh as any of the other colors.

The permanency of the Indian paintings depended largely upon the binder with which they were mixed and the exposure of the rock surface upon which they were placed. With few exceptions, the various paintings were upon sheltered surfaces, which were not only protected from the sun, but from moisture as well. Some of these paintings done in three colors on such protected surfaces are probably as fresh today as when they were first painted. 531 517

The above is not true where the paintings have been subject to moisture. The red paintings at Hospital Rock on the Kaweah River and those at other places where the rain has driven against them have almost weathered away. In fact, close investigation shows that what color is left consists of pigment which has penetrated the porous surface of the rock.

The common statement made by white pioneers concerning the Indian paintings is that the Indians knew nothing about them. This can scarcely be true, because I have found living *Wukchumne* Indians who knew the names of the various paintings and who attached no great mystery to them. Among these were Sam Garfield, *Tawp'-naw*, *Ichow*, and *Pohut*.

These *Wukchumne* Indians said that the paintings were generally placed at an important village site, one which was permanently inhabited, or at some place where Indian ceremonies were performed. They stated that tribal equipment, such as

159 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came
291 out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their
304 nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed [184] powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their [302] face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and 386 grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite].

438 Some of the Indian doctors used the *sihmik* to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted [765] our cheeks under our eyes with *sihmik* and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Loneuis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used
531 red, white, and black, and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the *Wukchumne* baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain [438] Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them
372 *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY

CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there
524 were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice
533 smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

Each individual in these tribes has a "pet" or "personal totem," which is inherited from the father, and seems to have no connection with the personal name.

Among the Chukchansi the following animals are associated with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, falcon, and quail. With the toxelyuwic moiety are identified the following animals: bear, eagle, raven, crow, jay, and jackrabbit. The Gashowu classify the following animals as connected with the nutuwic moiety: coyote, turkey vulture, and hawk (species?). With the toxelyuwic moiety the following animals are connected: eagle, wildcat, and fox. Among the Tachi the largest list of moiety animals was obtained. For the nutuwic moiety the animals are coyote, prairie falcon, ground owl, great horned owl, skunk, seal, and several other species of hawks and owls. The animals of the toxelyuwic moiety are eagle, crow, roadrunner, killdeer, fishhawk, raven, antelope, and beaver.

Among the North Fork Mono matters are not so sharply defined. The privilege of changing one's phratry and the custom of capturing young birds, which are kept as real pets, have added to the complexity, so that an animal is associated sometimes with a member of one phratry, sometimes with a member of the other.

The North Fork Mono clans appear to be functionless. Ceremonial functions seem to be centered in the phratrics, just as similar functions are in the Miwok and Yokuts moieties. Among the Miwok, the Yokuts, and the North Fork Mono, reciprocity on the part of the dual divisions in funeral and mourning ceremonies is the rule, and when games are played one division opposes the other. Among the Yokuts tribes an eagle ceremony, which is a moiety affair, was held. There seems reason to believe that similar ceremonies were perhaps held for other moiety animals. The ceremony was in the nature of a purchase or redemption of a moiety animal from the opposite moiety.

Ceremonial paints distinctive of each moiety were used by the Yokuts tribes and the Southern Sierra Miwok, but have not so far been found among the North Fork Mono.

Dual chieftainship, that is, a chief for each moiety or phratry, was found among the Tachi Yokuts and the North Fork Mono.